1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

601 171 relationships, the system is essentially simple and presents few complexities. Dual lineage organization has had no effect observable today upon the kinship system or terminology. Terms follow the usual Polynesian system of stratification. It may be stressed again that the distinction between blood and kin relatives called by the same term is always and easily kept in mind by the native, and there is never any confusion as to the proper emotional attitude or behavior due to the various relatives. The intension of kinship feelings, that is in terms of formal pattern, varies directly with the extension of the application of the kinship terms. Terms are not used in direct address, but as terms of description, save in mourning ceremonies, when a mourner addresses the corpse by the appropriate kinship term; at all other times, personal names are used in address, including that of child to parents.

[557]

Table 7. Kinship Terms

Stratum	Collateral	Lineal	Affinal
2	Tupuna tane (great uncle) Tupuna wawine (great aunt)	Tupuna (grandparent)	Tupuna (spouse's grandparent)
1	Matua tane (uncle) Matua wawine (aunt)	Matua tane (father) Matua wawine (mother)	Matua ngatoai tane (father-in-law) Matua ngatoai wawine (mother-in-law)
0	Cousins of same sex as speaker, taina; cousins of opposite sex to speaker, tuagaa wa-lisuna or wale aloa	Siblings of same sex as speaker, taina; siblings of opposite sex to speaker, tua tane (w. s.), tua wawine (m. s.), tuagaa (m. or w. s.)	Taokete tane (brother-in-law), taokete wawine (sister-in-law). Affinal relatives generally, tao tuagaa
—1	Tamaiaki (nephew), tamawawine (niece)	Tamaitane (son), tamawawine (daughter)	Umuaga tane (son-in-law), umuaga wawine (daughter-in-law). Affinal relatives at this level generally, tuagaa tamaiaki, as, tua tuagaa tane, brothers of son- and daughter-in-law.
—2	Malopuna tane (great nephew) Malopuna wawine (great niece)	Malopuna tane (grandson), malopuna wawine (granddaughter)	Descriptive terms, as, wawine ne taku malopuna tane, wife of my male grandchild.

601 One important characteristic of the Pukapukan system is the absence of special terms to express seniority among lineal descendants of the same stratum. This is done only by the addition of descriptive terms. A younger brother calls an older brother *taina tane*. By the use of the terms *tupa*

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mother during confinement; others are included for showing interest in the family's affairs by being present at the time of delivery. If the child is the first-born (*uhaki*), the *puaki* feast is followed several days later by the *waele* food division. If the *uhaki* is a male child, the division is on a bigger scale than for a first-born female. The division is held five to ten days after delivery, usually coinciding with the time that the mother is allowed to open her arms after her five nights of breast confinement. In an undistinguished family, the food division is among the bilateral kinship groups of the parents and may be referred to as a mere *tamomayanga* (eating). For a more distinguished family, one that ranks through status or wealth, the *waele* may include a food division for every family on the island. In such families, *waele* feasts may be held to mark the arrival of subsequent children, especially the birth of a male child if the previous children in the family are female.

The father generally chooses the child's name (*ingoà*) which he announces at the birth feast. But the mother or other interested parties may also give the child a name (*tapa ta ingoa*) or names. The child may thus be known by several names in different groups.

The choice of a name may be determined by a desire to refer to or honor the special skill or profession (*easive*) of the father. If the father is a skilled canoe builder, then he will name the child with reference to canoe building or parts of a canoe. The name of an ancestor, or else a reference to some incident or event associated with this ancestor may be chosen. A name may also be taken from a younger brother or sister of the father who is childless or may refer to some contemporary event or person affecting the island, a tidal wave, for example, or the presence on the island of white visitors.

If the first child dies, the second child may be given the name of the dead child. If the first-born dies after the birth of the second child, the name of the second child may be changed to that of its deceased sibling. No idea is held of the reincarnation of the soul of the dead child in the birth of the second child. The feeling seems to be that if one thinks so highly of a name as to give it to a child then if the child dies the same reason for giving the name holds for the second child. If a man wishing to hand down to posterity his skill as a carpenter, names his child accordingly, then if this child dies, the same desire operates when he comes to name his next child, so he gives it the name of the deceased. A child may similarly be renamed for any close relative, not a sibling, who dies during its childhood. A feast was formerly held to mark the assumption of the new name, and gifts were given the recipient of the new name.

The name or names given a child at birth remain his names throughout life. Later on, however, when a boy joins a young men's house (*waele lopa*) or a girl a girl's house (*waele tamomaeine*), he or she is given a new name by his or her companions in the house. This name partakes of the nature of a nickname, or at least is the name used only by one small group within the community, whereas the birth name is the name whereby the individual is known to the community at large. This was well brought out when collecting genealogies.

There is no sex distinction in names, and no class of words set aside for exclusive use as personal names. According to the choice of the parents, any word or words, taken from any sphere of discourse or any context whatsoever, may be applied to a child as his name. I have not considered it necessary to present lists of personal names. As is evident from a comparison with genealogies, old Pukapukan names survive today with a tenacious persistence. Western and Biblical names rendered in Pukapukan, however, have a certain popularity. Such names as Miti Mos (derived from Mr. More, a missionary), Miti Mali (derived from Mr. Murray, a trader), Moni Kula (brown money, gold), Apaana (from the English "half pound") are examples of modern names and show both an originality in naming for which the Polynesian may well be proud and an appreciation, however ridiculous, for the symbols of an allegedly superior culture.

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551 The stories and traditional history give a good indication of the type of preferred name in former days.

INFANCY

846 For the first few days of its life, the infant is held by female relatives
854 most of the day and night. It is wrapped in mats or rags, and thus protected from sudden temperature changes. When it is put down to sleep, it is usually placed on its back. At night it sleeps beside its mother. It is given
853 the breast whenever it cries. The mother sits while nursing, the child cradled in her arms. Feeding is leisurely; the child is not hurried, but allowed to satisfy itself fully. Breasts are alternated. When the child is older, it is held upright, its feet resting on the mother's lap. Children older still adopt any attitude in feeding from the breast that suits them. To suck the breast is *mitimiti*. After a month, the child may be fed soft coconut flesh; and in the second month, baked coconut cotyledon as well. These foods are fed the
854 child before it is given the breast and allowed to feed to satiety. The infant, though never left alone, is rarely carried about. The mother at first remains inactive. Later when she goes to the talo beds, she leaves the
[857] infant in the care of an older child or female relative within the house. It will be carried about only where the guardian is a young girl who cannot resist going to the beach to watch a group of her companions playing games, and carries the infant along with her, cradled in her arms. During much of its waking life the infant is fondled and caressed by both male and female relatives and friends of the parents.

As the infant gets older, it is gradually stripped of coverings, and lies naked on its mat. It soon learns to sit up and then spends much time lying, sitting, and wriggling round beside the mother while she is at her work. At this tender age, the child is good humoredly cleaned whenever it soils itself, formerly with coconut husk, today with a piece of rag. This duty is performed by any older person, male or female. Besides being fed when hungry, the child is always given the breast to comfort and pacify it whenever it is frightened or in pain.

857 There are no special customs pertaining to teething. The child is given no object to suck or like no other than the breast as a comforter. Special instances of children sucking objects were recorded (a). Mothers agree that children suck or place in the mouth whatever objects they can get in their hands, but during the infancy period, there
[152] seems to be relatively little finger, thumb, or toe sucking.

Adults pay much attention to raising small infants by their arms so that they rest on their legs and are able to kick a solid surface with their feet. As the time approaches for the child to begin to walk, no assistance is given. The child starts naturally by pulling itself to its feet and then taking a few steps clinging to posts or railings. It is encouraged by its mother who insists that it should come to her, and comforts and pets it wherever it falls. The method reported for Aitutaki, of standing the child in a pit and burying its legs with earth as a method of encouraging the child to stand, is unknown in Pukapuka. Mothers say, however, that they occasionally *kaulomi* (press on) the legs of the child during its bath to strengthen them.

12: Gill M-2 (1877) 1912 Pukapukans

[TRANSLATION OF No. 23.]

A WORD ABOUT THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

[Pukapuka (or Danger) is one of a group of three small islands, about latitude 11° S., and longitude 166° W., now forming part of the Cook Island Administration. The group lies north-east from Samoa, at about 430 miles distant therefrom. Its position will bt seen on our Sketch Chart, Vol. XX., p. 116, of this 'Journal.' In the same 'Journal,' Vol. XIII., p. 173, will be also found some brief traditions of these people, collected by the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchen, of Rarotonga, together with a short vocabulary of their dialect. The people number about 500, and are now British subjects. The original from which the following account is translated, was apparently written by one of the Rarotongan Native Missionaries to Pukapuka, and is both badly expressed and written, and, therefore, some mistakes may occur in the translation. Several Pukapuka words are indicated by italics, the meaning of which are given by the writer in Rarotongan. Several of these words are still current in New Zealand, though not in Rarotonga apparently. The part of the story about the transference of the chieftainship, is very obscure, and on that account the translation may be wrong in part. Kui's voyage to Samoa is probably historical. Kui, is usually a woman's name, but apparently here it is a man's.—EDITOR.]

October 22, 1877.

THIS is their story: It was Matariki * who made both Heaven and Earth, and he was (? represented by) a stone. He was a god,

* Matariki is the name of the Pleiades, but probably this is not intended for that constellation.